1:Gutierrez de Pineda--i E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

INTRODUCTION

121 In accordance with the plan drawn up by the Instituto Etnológico Nacional de Colombia /National Institute of Ethnology of Colombia/ to present a complete monograph on some aspect of indigenous culture in each number of this review, and in order to continue the study presented in the previous issue on the Guajiro community which we visited in 1947 with the licentiates Roberto Pineda Giraldo and Milcíades Chaves Ch. and Mrs. María Rose de Recasens, we here present the Organización Social en la Guajira /Social Organization in La Guajira/, a title which embraces some aspects of the manner in which the individual and his institutions function in this community.

We have wished to present not merely an interpretative study but rather a series of facts, as trustworthy as it was possible for them to be, arranged in the way we consider to be best, that is, starting with the individual as the primary cell in the social organization, from the moment of birth on through the most important stages of his life within the group, up to sickness and death, and ending with reference to law, that is, the institutions which govern life in society.

This plan, then, tends to give an objective view of the interrelations between the individual and his group and of the way in which each complement the other in making possible the communal life of the individuals as components of the family cells, the small social groups, and the total collectivity. We have therefore subdivided our work into the two essential parts mentioned above, taking the individual, that is, the average man in the community, as a basis, with his manner of living, his ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting when faced with the various problems and institutions which society has established. In brief, we have wished to present the individual as he confronts his environment. /xiv/

124 The research on which this treatise is based was carried out directly in the field, data being obtained from different

[7 cont.]

132 Consequently at this time, the Indian faces a situation of misery
731 that has brought him to seek monetary income either as a worker in the maritime saltworks or as a herdsman in the neighboring haciendas of Venezuela and Colombia; or if he is obstinate in his attachment to his native soil, he has to put up with conditions of hunger, bond service, and even slavery in his own territory.

166 The lack of water has been the main factor leading to the
464 mass emigration of entire native families to the nearest centers of trade and work; there they enroll themselves as paid farm workers; or simply beg for charity, which is frequently seen in the streets and plazas of Maracaibo; or apply themselves to some other trade such as the making of charcoal to be sold in Ríohacha; or work in the loading and unloading of ships in neighboring ports.

• • •

121 All these facts that we have been describing and the little
114 that was known of this interesting Colombian aboriginal community led the Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology of the Ministry of National Education of Colombia to organize an expedition to study for a reasonable period of time the greater part of the characteristic social phenomena of this group of people, the actual social situation of the natives confronted by the new conditions of life, the anthropological aspect, the language, etc. This decision was put into effect with the ethnographic expedition of 1947, which, during the months of July, August, and September, traveled over a great part of the territory making the corresponding studies. [8] This expedition was composed of: the investigators, Licentiate Milcíades Chaves, Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, Señora María Rosa de Recasens, and the author.

The result of these investigations is the work we now present, the first of a series of publications which will cover the major part of the aspects of the material and spiritual life of the Guajiro.

The work to which these few lines serve as an introduction is based on facts carefully gathered by us in the field, especially by my wife Licentiate Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda Giraldo, who kindly handed over data to be studied and added to ours, and we

[8 cont.]
114 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

*7156 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to
787 the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she
[276 439] seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Ríohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

*7156 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

[115 cont.]

813 to a faith or a creed. And only the presence of distinct elements in his civilization and contact with other human groups more advanced and rational (in our sense) is undermining the power of this force which, in great part, constitutes, regulates, and governs his way of life.

●121 787 In this study which we present we are not interested in dreams as events tied to the psychic life of the individual, nor are we going to try to interpret them. [116] This is part of another work which will be presented later by other investigators. The phenomenon as such interests us, especially the interpretation the native gives his dreams as revelations of future events, of forthcoming happenings related to his own life, to that of his fellow beings in particular, or to the community in general. In other words, the magic act that denotes, as Thorndike states, "a mental state," a way of feeling and thinking, a method of explaining effects whose causes are unknown. We will, therefore, simply describe a series of dreams and their meaning to the native, without comments except in cases where we consider it strictly necessary in order to clarify certain situations or special institutions to which they refer.

787 But before dealing with this matter, we shall first make a subdivision of dreams into two categories, in accordance with their content, which we may describe as the real and the symbolic. The first would appear to be the work of special spirits who reveal themselves through the medium of dreams to give their assistance and protection to an individual in an almost direct manner: These dreams are so clear, so explicit, that they require no interpretation. They are like a conversation between the individual and the spirit in which the latter tells the former all the things he must do; for example, the herbs that he must take to cure a certain illness from which he is suffering. On the other hand, the other dreams do not have this direct relation but are detached from active reality. Their interpretation — usually made by the shaman — demonstrates phenomena of a socially determined character which should be prevented or hastened. These dreams are those that give rise to the series of ceremonies or rites leading to a conjuration, as we saw in the corresponding chapter.

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

COMPOSITION OF 'TORTS' IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

By

Vincenzo Petrullo

A DISCUSSION of the laws of a primitive society has first to surmount the difficulties of definition. How shall we differentiate law from custom, moral from legal duties and obligations in a society that has not codified its laws, that lacks an easily recognized agency for making and enforcing them, and that cannot put forward a juristic philosophy? Are we justified in selecting certain acts which in our society fall subject to legal actions, and constructing a system of 'laws' out of them? In the literature on jurisprudence there is the tendency either to exclude law from primitive society altogether, to recognize in a vast array of reciprocal obligations and social censures law in the raw, or to set up criteria which allow for the existence of law in some societies and exclude it from others. For instance, analytical jurisprudence practically limits law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces.[1] Obviously many primitive societies cannot satisfy such a strict concept of law for lack of the required social mechanism. Even Stammler, who rejects the concept that there can be no law without a state and who seeks law in custom, approaches the problem by asking: Is there an agency to make and enforce laws; is its purpose to ensure justice; does it determine in sovereign fashion who shall be subject to it; does it claim inviolability as long as it is in force? Likewise the historical and sociological schools would exclude law from some of the primitive societies.[2] Radcliffe-Brown, writing from an anthropological point of view, accepts Roscoe Pound's definition of law as 'social control through the systematic application of force of politically organized society,' and goes on to say that

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

121 the field of law is 'coterminous with that of organized legal sanctions.' If there are no 'legal sanctions,' obligations are considered as matters of custom and conventions. He further suggests the use of 'public delicts' and 'private delicts' to classify violations of law which in our society would fall into the criminal and civil classes respectively.[3] Malinowski, justly calling attention to the fact that the field of law does not limit itself to prohibitions but also enjoins duties, extends the term to include binding obligations governing the intercourse of daily life and enforced by a 'specific mechanism inherent in the structure of society.'[4]

While it is not within the scope of this paper to examine critically the various concepts of what constitutes law, we may well ask if its existence in primitive society is dependent upon what one accepts as its definition. We are given the choice of admitting either that certain societies do not know law, or that law is present in all societies in the form of reciprocal obligations which include many phases of behavior which we are accustomed to call either custom or moral obligation. Still it may be granted that in any society there occur breaches of custom, which are recognized as trespass on the recognized rights of the individual and perhaps on the entire community, for the composition and rectification of which there are known and accepted acts whose nature is set and limited by precedent. These are in contrast to those breaches which may bring on the offender only social reprobation in a mild form through giving him a 'bad name.' The former ought to fall within the province of law as generally understood in our society, while the latter may properly be included in the field of morals.

105 Before proceeding with a description of Guajiro concepts of law and of custom it may be well to outline briefly the structure of their society. It is estimated that there are between ten and [161] twenty thousand Guajiro inhabiting the peninsula that takes its name from them. Though most of the territory belongs to Colombia and a narrow coastal strip is within Venezuelan borders, the Guajiro live almost independently of both [133] governments. The land is arid, lacking running water except in the hills of Macuire, where there are some springs. Most of

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
SC13 Goajiro SC13

672 family responsibility for the acts of one of its members. If
628 there is no property composition for a tort committed and the injured family has recourse to arms, the revenge that it may take is limited by precedent. If the family is very powerful
[626] it may dispense with that, but public moral reprobation is a strong barrier to excesses.

NOTES

●121 1. J. Austin and T. E. Holland restrict the term Law to those rules which a fully organized state recognizes and enforces. I.e., T. E. Holland: 'A law, in the proper sense of the term, is a general rule of human action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities, is that which is paramount in a political society.' (See Bibliography.)

2. Rivet, Durkheim, Hartland, and Hobhouse express this position.

3. Radcliffe-Brown, 202.

4. See Malinowski in Hogbin.

114 5. From my field notes gathered in 1935. The Columbia University—University Museum Guajiro Expedition spent three months in the peninsula making an ethnological and archæological survey. The other members of the expedition were: Dr. Paul Kirchhoff; Mr. Lewis Korn and Mrs. Gwyneth Browne Harrington, archæologists; Miss Lydia C. du Pont, photographer; Señor Gregorio Hernandez de Alba, a Colombian student.

6. See Bohlen.

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5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia.

By F. A. A. Simons.

Map, p. 840.

Since the publication of my last paper on the Sierra Nevada in 1881,* I have been commissioned by the National Government of Colombia to survey the two Atlantic States of the Magdalena and Bolivar, and especially to write a report on the hitherto unexplored region of the Goajira Indians. A summary of this I have now the honour of laying before the Royal Geographical Society.

The north-easterly corner of the United States of Colombia (formerly New Granada) terminates in a large peninsula, that, projecting for some 120 miles out into the Caribbean Sea, forms the extensive Gulf of Maracaybo. This peninsula is known as the Goajira. It was ceded by the State of Magdalena in 1872, to form a National Territory, for the better civilisation of its Indians. One half of it, however, is claimed by the Venezuelans, and a dispute that at one time threatened to culminate in war between the two nations, was amicably settled by referring the question to the King of Spain as arbitrator. His decision has not yet been made public. Three-fourths surrounded by sea, the Goajira is on the land, or south-westerly, side separated from the State of the Magdalena by a natural boundary, formed partly by the Rio Ranchoria, with the outlying hills of the Nevada, variously called in old maps Cerros de Soldado, de Barrancas, &c., and partly by the Montes of Oca.

Very little or nothing is known of the history of these Indians. Although the peninsula played an important part in the first discoveries, none of the early chroniclers seem to have paid much attention to the country. Juan de Castellanos, who resided some time at the Cabo de la Vela, dedicates a "solo canto" to the pearls. The "Floresta de Santa Marta," written by José Nicolas de la Rosa in 1739, gives many interesting data on the customs and manners of the Indians; this work must have supplied the more recent writings on the subject, for the same errors run through them all. That the present race are not the original inhabitants of the peninsula is certain. The Indians themselves have a legend that they came from a great distance, and are able to point out traces of villages belonging to the former inhabitants, whom they assert are the Arhuacos of the Sierra Nevada. Sometimes their old graves are accidentally come across, yielding to the fortunate finder a rich harvest of *tumas* (pieces of polished stone with a hole drilled through), curiously shaped pieces of gold, and other ornaments (clay), identical with those found in great profusion all over the Sierra Nevada. Now,

* 'Proceedings R. G. S.,' 1881, p. 705.

6: Santa Cruz E-5 (1940) 1941
SC13 Goajiro SC13

PRIMITIVE MAN
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ASPECTS OF THE AVUNCULATE IN THE GUAJIRO CULTURE

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THE Guajira peninsula is situated in the northwest corner of Colombia, South America, roughly between the 71° and 73° W. long., and 11° and 12° N. lat. It is rather flat in contour with only some hill ranges in the eastern part. Rainfall is scarce and the vegetation is of a semi-arid type. The region is inhabited by one tribe of Indians, the Arawak-speaking Guajiro. Both culturally and linguistically the Guajira peninsula presents a uniform block.

The present writer visited the territory in the summer of 1940, but due to illness contracted there was forced to cut short his visit. Fairly full data were gathered on all phases of social culture. The present paper deals with certain aspects of one phase only, the avunculate.

The rôle of the maternal uncle is manifold in Guajiro culture, organized as the Guajiro are into maternal sibs. Types of behavior, both prescribed and unformalized, vary, depending on the seniority of both uncle and nephew, but not on that of niece. In this paper we shall be concerned for the most part with the prescribed and voluntary relations between the oldest brother of a given woman and her eldest son, and between this oldest brother and his sisters' daughters. Other relations not involving these specified kin will be touched upon only incidentally for illustrative purposes.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Foreword

THIS book will take the reader to a peculiar corner of South America, the Guajira peninsula, the shores of which are washed by the warm Caribbean. It has a different climate and nature to those of other, adjacent, parts of the continent. Its inhabitants are Indians who differ largely from most of their fellows in our day, for they are warlike, proud and independent. They are the only people of mounted nomads among the natives of America and they are led by powerful chiefs. They have longest maintained their independence and their remarkable customs. They have been left in peace largely because their country is arid and unattractive, but also because they are not to be trifled with.

I have made three journeys among them. The first, in 1920, was the most exciting and fruitful. Three of us went, my wife, our photographer, Ottar Gladtvet, and I, and we remember it as though it were yesterday. It is that journey which provided the bulk of my material. I supplemented my observations of Indian life by a further short visit that my wife and I made to the peninsula in the 'thirties and by the results of some native researchers.

In 1955 I returned to Guajira, wanting to see how it was after the crisis caused by the recurrent droughts of the last decade. Almost all the cattle were said to have been killed and half the population to have perished or emigrated. When I got there, however, conditions had improved. Much was just as it always had been, and there is every indication that this fine and worth-while Indian people will overcome its difficulties and retain its individuality in many respects.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

ACQUIRING STATUS IN GUAJIRO SOCIETY

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The present paper is based upon field research carried out during a 26-day trip in the months of August and September 1958.[1] The writer had previously visited the Colombia part of the Guajira Peninsula in 1940 as a graduate student of anthropology.

The Guajira Peninsula occupies the north-central part of South America and lies between the countries of Colombia and Venezuela. Roughly speaking, about three-fourths of the peninsula belong to Colombia, while only one-fourth is within the boundaries of Venezuela. Ecologically and ethnographically, however, the peninsula is an unbroken block, occupied mainly by the Arawak-speaking Guajiro Indians. There are no attempts on the part of either Government to hold the Indians within the national territory and as, the frontier is practically unwatched, the natives go back and forth across the boundary much as they please.

The primary aim of the 1958 field trip was to find, if possible, a proper locale in which to establish, for the first time in Venezuela, a Pilot Center of Fundamental Education following the patterns—with the necessary modifications for local adaptation—already in practice in countries such as India, Mexico, Peru, etc. The Comisión Indigenista, a branch of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Venezuela, of which the present writer was a member of its technical staff at the time of the field trip, has, at present, elaborate and extensive plans to develop Fundamental Education in Venezuela, thanks to the untiring efforts of its Technical Advisor, Dr. Walter Dupouy. The aim is to bring, ultimately, all of the 100,000 indigenous inhabitants of the country into its national life.

Although major attention was given to the primary aim of the field trip, some time was left for pure research. This was aided by the fact that the present writer was in constant company of

[1] Although no direct quotations have been made from the literature, earlier works have been consulted for both historical and present-day ethnographical data.

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the individual who was to provide the raw material for this article. This is more or less a biography of the man who was at the same time guide, interpreter, and driver for the author and with whom extensive conversations, both formal and informal, took place.[2]

Guajiro culture, like most native cultures in the New World, has suffered great acculturation due to the impact with European ways of life. Some of these cultures have been more resistant to change than others; and within one culture, certain aspects have remained closer to the traditional forms than have others. In Guajiro culture, it is perhaps the social organization, with all of its ramifications, that has resisted recent acculturation more than the other aspects of the culture. We know very little of the pre-cattle culture of the Guajiro and even Juan de Castellanos, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, describes them as having numerous herds of domestic animals. Nowhere in the literature on the Guajiros is there an example of status having been acquired outside the traditional way and the present writer, in his two field trips to the region, has found only the case here described.

As it is not the purpose of this article to give a full description of the social organization of the Guajiro, it will be sufficient to state that the tribe is divided into some twenty-five matrilineal clans, of which about eleven are large and rather powerful in their socio-economic aspects, and the rest—due mainly to the fact of having a small number of members—are weak, and relatively unimportant. Inheritance is along the mother's line, an individual acquiring property from his maternal uncle. The avunculate in all its social and economic aspects, is a very important institution (Santa Cruz, 1941).

Traditionally the clans are exogamous with incest taboos and punishments for those who break them. This exogamic characteristic of the clan is apparently disappearing, as several cases of endogamous unions were found among the Guajiro living in the outskirts of the city of Maracaibo. No endogamous marriages, however, were found in the Guajiro proper by the present writer, although Gregorio Hernandez de Alba (1936) has

[2] Proper names, especially of the subject, have all been disguised in some way, so as to spare personal feelings.

10:Gusinde--1 E-5 (1954) 1961 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/531/

Contents:

1. Earlier Reports

2. Most Recent Reports

3. Concluding Remarks

In the middle of 1954 I set out from Caracas via Maracaibo to make anthropological observations in the settlement area of the Yupa Indians (1). In the narrow stretch of Venezuelan

1. M. Gusinde, "The Yupa Indians in Western Venezuela," Proceed. Americ. Philos. Soc., 100, 1956, pp. 197-222.

territory along the western shore of the Gulf of Maracaibo /Gulf of Venezuela/ I occasionally saw representatives of the Guajiro /Goajiro/ people (2) of every age and both sexes. It

2. The spelling Guajiro is preferred to Goajiro. Cf. "Etimología de la palabra 'Guajira /Etymology of the word Guajiro'/" in Vegamian, pp. 11-33.

was my wish to see personally the astonishingly favorable adaptation of these Indians to their unusually dry and vegetation-poor surroundings, in order to compare their ecological conditions with those of the Bushmen in the Kalahari of South Africa (3). Already from Bogotá on, Professor Adolf Staffe of

/531 cont./

121 114 3. M. Gusinde. "Bericht über meine südafrikanische Forschungsreise 1950/51 /Report on My South African Field Trip, 1950-51/," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 388-404.

Vienna, who at that time was with the Internat. F.A.O. for Colombia, had been very helpful to me. Soon after our auto journey together through that dried-up peninsula, he died unexpectedly. My thanks to him are thus expressed here posthumously.

128 Only a selection from my ethnographic observations among the Guajiro people are presented here. They are preceded by what has already been ascertained on the same subjects by other authors.

1. Earlier Reports

105 175 At the time of the discovery of the New World, the Guajiro were the /532/ branch of the Aruak /Arawak/ group that had pushed farthest to the northwest on South American soil. Before the Conquest they obtained their livelihood from hunting and fishing, together with some agriculture. Animal husbandry, however, acquired considerable ascendancy through the introduction of domestic animals at the time of the Spanish colonization. Juan de Castellanos reported that as early as the period of his sojourn there (around 1550) quite a large quantity of livestock was present. Since then, and up to our day, this economic activity has undergone no structural change worth mentioning; at present, however, far-reaching efforts at accommodation to the so-called Western manner of thinking and way of life are seen (4).

4. Cf. Vegamian, Crist (1958 and 1959), José Augustín de Barranquilla, and others.